AIM

THE BULLETIN OF THE AMERICAN INDEPENDENT MOVEMENT

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Lyndon Johnson says he has withdrawn from the race; peace negotiations are in the air in Vietnam; and Martin Luther King is dead. "Something is happening, but you don't know what it is, do you, Mr. Jones?" Neither do Mr. Kennedy, Mr. McCarthy or Mr. Nixon.

In the presidential campaigns for 1968, we are being treated to politics as usual. The country is coming apart at the seams, the people are restless, the private troubles of our day are more and more clearly public issues. Yet the candidates are still selling personalities and platitudes. Is McCarthy an idealist? Kennedy an opportunist? Nixon a used car salesman? These ques-

Cont. Page 2

A PROGRAM FOR '68

tions divert us from the point --- what do they have to say about the issues of our day? Very little. What is their program? We don't know.

For many of us it has become clear that to deal with the crisis confronting us will, in the long run, require major changes in the social, political and economic structure of our society. But these changes cannot be brought about in 1968 and will not happen until a whole new political mobilization of the American people takes place.

Still, there are many things that could be done now. I suggest the following as an outline of a program for '68:

VIETNAM: All major political figures in the U.S. begin their discussion of Vietnam with an incorrect assumption that the U.S. has a right to be in Vietnam and that there is therefore something to negotiate about. The peace movement labors under a further delusion that it has brought about the current political situation in the U.S. As for the first premise, we insist that the U.S. intervention in Vietnam was wrong from the beginning, that it is still wrong, and that the Vietnamese people have the right to territorial integrity, independence, and national unity. As for the second premise, ask this question: what would be the level of peace activity in the U.S. if the U.S. had managed to occupy and pacify southern Vietnam by, let us say, 1960? Is there any peace movement now to free South Korea or the Dominican Republic? The answer is obvious. Peace is popular in the U.S. now because the U.S. military is being defeated by people's war in Vietnam. The National Liberation Front and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam are the strongest arm of the American Peace Movement, and they, not us, are responsible for Mr. Johnson's plight. Consider the following from the Washington Post:

> About 1000 American aircraft of all types were destroyed or damaged on the ground in the Communist Vietnamese offensive that was begun Jan. 30, administration sources now privately concede.
>
> The extent of the damage to critical U.S. mobility in the war originally was concealed and greatly minimized.

Under the circumstances, a reasonable program for Vietnam might be:
(1) Immediate withdrawal of all American troops and cessation of all aid to the Saigon puppet government.
(2) War damage reparations to Vietnam at least as great as our current annual expenditures on the war --- over $30 billion.
(3) War crimes trials for those who have directed the war in Washington and Saigon, as well as the principle manufacturers and users of napalm, fragmentation bombs, gasses and defoliants. (The Nuremburg trials of German politicians, generals, and industrialists after WWII provide a precedent. A mass of evidence is available in the American press alone which would justify trials on charges of crimes of aggression, war crimes, and crimes against humanity.)
(4) Full pardon for all political prisoners, including draft resisters, military resisters, deserters, and others whose violation of the law is attributable to opposition to war.

POVERTY AND RACE: No more "civil rights" bills, "anti-poverty" programs, or other symbolic gestures are needed. We do need to deal immediately with the institutionalized racism and the maldistribution of income and wealth. A program for this might include:
(1) Land reform in rural areas and in the inner cities. The slum lords in the cities have already made many times their investments in ghetto housing. In West Virginia one company took $40,000,000 worth of coal out of the land for which it paid $300. In the South, Negro sharecroppers are starving while paying rent on land they have worked for generations. The poor people need land, and from the ghettos of the North, from the countryside from Appalachia to Mississippi, it ought to be confiscated and given to them.

Cont. Page 3

2nd ANNIVERSARY ISSUE!

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a program cont.

(2) Massive federal grants -- not as handouts, but as repayment for all the past injustice and all the dirty work done by the poor -- for housing, schools, community centers and medical facilities in city neighborhoods and rural villages. These grants should not go to experts, bureaucrats or to the bourgeoisie -- black or white. They should go directly to grass roots organizations like the HPA in New Haven or JOIN (an organization of poor white Appalachian migrants in Chicago). Agencies like CPI and Redevelopment ought to be phased out and control of programs like Model Cities or State Street renewal turned over to the people of the neighborhoods.

(3) A presidential candidate ought to promise that, if elected, his party will undertake a re-education program for white people to make them confront their own prejudice and racial bias. It should begin with the party workers, such as Democratic ward committees, and then be broadened to include the entire white community in seminars, teach ins, and discussion groups.

ECONOMIC RECONVERSION AND DEMOCRACY: People must participate in the decisions that affect their lives. And nothing affects them more than the future of factories that have been carried along by wartime spending. As we stop producing for war, the workers and the communities in which war plants are located ought to participate in deciding how these factories can be converted to peaceful production. In Connecticut, companies like Avco, Sikorsky, United Aircraft, Colt and Winchester might be turned to the problems of mass transportation, low cost housing, and air and water pollution. The exact mechanism for such planning would have to be worked out, but it is clear that unless the people have some say in the use of the productive resources, they will have little control over the direction in which their society develops.

Finally, any reasonable program would state explicitly that turning it into a reality is not up to the President, or Congressmen, or Senators. It is up to the people of this country who must get out of their chairs and living rooms, away from their T.V. sets, and out into the communities. They must talk to their neighbors, go to meetings, make their local organizations work or set up new ones when they won't. We have to work on our schools, housing, redevelopment programs, and social services to make them serve our needs. We are all responsible for what happens to us, and we must take back control of our country.

Mc CARTHY WINS 4775 TO 4063!

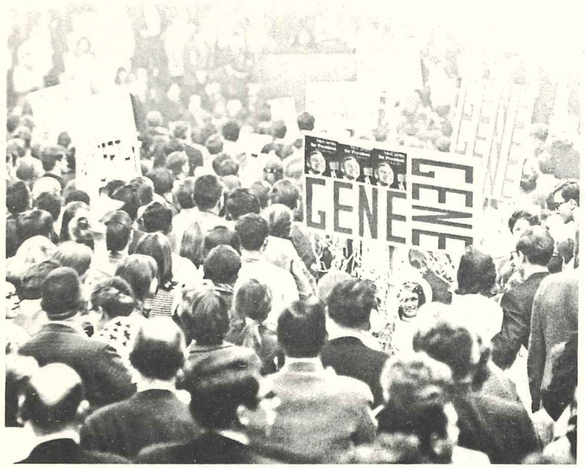
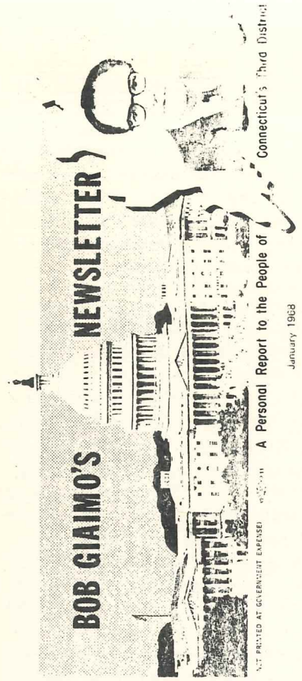


Photo by Richard Stoops


BOB GIAIMO'S NEWSLETTER
A Personal Report to the People of Connecticut's Third District
January 1968
NOT PRINTED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE

A REVIEW

by Karl E. Klare

"Bob Giaimo's Newsletter," by Congressman Robert N. Giaimo (Dem. 3rd C. D.), Washington, D.C., January,1968, edition, pp.: 2., free to all New Haven residents.

James MacGregor Burns, an eminent observer of American politics, has written: "Because it has failed to engage itself with the problems that dog us during our working days and haunt our dreams at night, politics has not engaged the best of us, or at least the best in us. If people seem complacent or inert, the cause may lie less in them than in a political system that evades and confuses real issues rather than sharpening or resolving them." These words certainly strike home to the reader of this new work by Congressman Giaimo, a survey of "my activities and the activities of the House of Representatives during the first session of the 90th Congress." This "**Personal Report to the people of Connecticut's Third District**" issued, it seems, at intervals more than a year in length, consists of a single sheet, legal-sized, printed on both sides, with two pictures as well as a letter-head which takes up approximately one third of one side. Though "*not printed at government expense*," it is distributed by the post office free of charge. Apparently, this is as much "clarification" on the real issues and his role in them which our elected representative can afford to give us.

Strangely enough, for instance, Giaimo fails to refer to the war in Vietnam in his newsletter. To be fair to Congressman Giaimo this reviewer should point out that neither Giaimo nor the House of Representatives has seen much activity relavent to the war in Vietnam lately. Perhaps the author will get to Vietnam in a future work. On the other hand, the Executive Branch does call on the House periodically to grant supplementary military appropriations and Congressman Giaimo is on the appropreations Committee. Indeed, Giaimo no less periodically comes out and supports Administration requests for further funds with which to prosecute the war. When one of Giaimo's Democratic colleagues (Brown-Calif.) offered a resolution a year ago to amend the supplemental defense appropriations authorization by prohibiting the use of funds for military operations in or over North Vietnam, Giaimo voted "no". A few days later Giaimo cast his vote in support of the extra $4.5 billion to carry out the war (S 665). Then the Administration raised its demands and asked for $12 billion in funds earmarked for Vietnam (HR 7123). Giaimo chimed in with his colleagues' resounding "yes" vote.

Giaimo has been a consistent supporter of federal outlay to the defense establishment, and Connecticut has prospered as a result. (Connecticut has the highest per capita federal expenditure on defense contracts of any state.) Giaimo carefully points to the fact that "approximately 10% of the wages and salaries earned in the State are earned in defense related agencies. In fiscal year 1966, 30% of the prime contracts awarded in the State by the Defense Department were awarded to the Third Congressional District." Giaimo reports in his newsletter that he held a conference in New Haven to determine the results a general cutback in defense expenditures would have upon the area. Giaimo reports that he is hopeful that the conference, a one-day affair attended by leaders of business, labor, and government, "will enable our area to be prepared for any eventuality." This is indeed remarkable. Giaimo, as we shall see in a moment, is terrified by the prospect of spending a penny of tax-payer's money on a poverty program that might not be "correct." Yet in a conference that probably lasted an afternoon he was able to come to grips with all of the difficulties that will face Connecticut should a total re-organization of a whole sector of its economy be required.

Giaimo seems to have spent most of his his time in the recent House session cutting the fat" out of budget requests, to use his phrase. Giaimo seems proudest of his successful fight to block the appropriation of funds for construction of the Dickey-Lincoln Hydroelectric Power Project in Maine. This project would have provided New England with public power and cheaper utility rates. Giaimo tried to produce figures to show that public power coming from Maine would have been more expensive than local private power, but his stand on this bill got him into hot water with organized labor. Joseph M. Rourke, deputy director of the AFL CIO's Committee on Political Education told the convention of the Connecticut State Labor Council that New England electric companies are "getting away with murder" and "picking the pockets of the poor." Giaimo has been very careless in his relations with organized labor throughout recent months. He called Vincent J. Sirabella, president of the Greater New Haven Central Labor Council, a "phoney" and a "hatchet man". The accusations stemmed from Sirabella's statements denouncing Giaimo's anti-labor positions in Congress. Edward Joseph, head of Local 1234 of the United Auto Workers, the largest affiliate of the council, quickly rallied to the side of Sirabella, saying of Giaimo: "Apparently, he has a great deal of time to represent the interests of the utilities companies in this state against the

Cont. Page 5

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review cont.

interests of the consumers--especially the poor and elderly--asevidenced by his personal fight against the Dickey-Lincoln Bill." It goes without saying that the labor unions are one of the traditional bastions of support for the Democratic Party, and Giaimo's indiscreet remarks certainly spell trouble for his future career.

Giaimo is probably not known in Congress as a particularly outspoken or clamorous member, but something seems seems to snap inside him when he gets back to the district. Hardly was the melee with the unions over when Giaimo lashed out again-- this time at Community Progress Incorporated, New Haven's anti-poverty agency. And just to round things out, Giaimo let loose an intemperate and distasteful attack on Fred Harris when it was announced that Harris had been appointed to the regional advisory council of the proposed South Central Community College. Giaimo's criticism of the C.P.I. was simply dull. He, or rather more likely, one of his aides, compiled statistics to demonstrate inefficiency, exorbitant managerial costs, and administrative topheaviness in the C.P.I. Giaimo's only concept of the responsible legislator seems to center around the idea of cutting out "fat" in budgets of federal projects. One of the highlights of "Bob Giaimo's Newsletter" is the Congressman's attempt to defend his vote against the proposed increased appropriation for the Office of Economic Opportunity. Giaimo writes: If we are to solve the problems of the inner city, we must be sure that what we are doing is correct." Giaimo's conclusion: at all costs block an increased appropriation for O.E.O.

"Correct" programs to solve the problems of the inner city are not going to be conjured up suddenly in House hearing rooms, or in one-day conferences in the Park Plaza Hotel with the New Haven Chamber of Commerce.

The problems of our cities can only be tackled if met head on by the courage, determination, and vision of men with close roots to the community, men who respond directly to the needs of the people they represent. Only a man like Giaimo, who has no ties to the inner city, could sit back complacently and haggle about administrative overhead costs when even America's most moderate liberal spokesmen are pleading for literally billions more dollars to experiment and confront the challenges of the city. Only a man like Giaimo could search and search and come up with a cure-all that was out-of-date, if not contradictory, at the turn of the century: "involve private industry in the fight against poverty." The programs run by the Hill Parents Association, with only the most modest resources, have meant more for this community than any of the "agency" projects simply because they involved people in the struggle to create their own futures. But Bob Giaimo could never see that. The crowning aspect of his social policy came with his vote for the "anti-riot" (or "anti-Stokely") bill (HR 421). This short sighted and probably unconstitutional act was Congressman Giaimo's answer to the burning problems of America's cities.

The New Haven Register (January 14, 1968), wrote that Giaimo's recent actions "have signalled a complete movement to the middle-of-the-road. There are those who feel that Giaimo has gone slightly over that middle line toward the right." This is all too complex. Rather, one should view Giaimo as a study in colossal mediocrity. His every action is characterized by a paucity of imagination, a bankruptcy of vision that make either farcical or tragic his blustering attacks on men like Sirabella or Fred Harris. Giaimo is basicly like other Congressmen: he abides by the unwritten "norms" of the House ("You scratch my back, and I'll scratch yours") and counts on the political culture to keep the constituents apathetic, complacent and uninterested. And really, what else should we expect? Should we really expect Bob Giaimo to be a crusader for peace in Vietnam and justice for the Vietnamese? for a new vision of American cities based on the dispersal of power to all the people of the community? for the creation of a society that will have as its end the fulfillment of human needs rather than the balancing of the budget? "Be realistic," Bob Giaimo would say, "I'm just a Congressman from Connecticut."

AT TENTION AIM READERS

There is a new special public affairs program called COMMENTARY which you might like to listen to. on WYBC, 94.3FM, Monday, Wednesday and Friday at 11:10PM, and Tuesday, Wednesday and Saturday at 12:10PM. Ken Sharpe, a graduate student in political science, writes the commentary, and already has interviewed Ronald Johnson, Fred Harris, Rev. James Bevel. Phil Holt of New Haven Redevelopment, and McCarthy delegates.

FRED HARRIS CONVICTED

by Mike Avery

On March 21 Fred Harris, President of the Hill Parents Association, was convicted of possession of narcotics by a jury of twelve white persons. One should place considerable, but not exclusive, emphasis on the race of the jury members, but to understand the reasons why Fred Harris now faces a possible ten year prison sentence one has to probe more deeply.

The evidence in the case was quite simple. The State called six witnesses. First was Detective Burt Gifford, a Negro policeman whose success on the Harris case has given his career in the police department a boost -- he is the director of the new police-community relations center in Newhallville. Gifford testified that on the night of October 25, 1967, he and Detective Pastore met with an unidentified man in the parking lot of the train station around 10:00 P.M. On cross-examination Gifford estimated that this parking lot is about a five minute walk from the Harris apartment on Carlisle Street. According to Gifford's testimony, after this meeting, he and Pastore returned to the headquarters of the Gambling and Narcotics Squad where other detectives were assembling. They made out an affidavit and application for a search warrant and then went to the home of Judge Reynolds. After the Judge had signed and issued the warrant, they returned to police headquarters. They left there about 1:30 A.M. and two full cars of policemen went to the Harris apartment. There was considerable detailed testimony by Gifford and the other witnesses about what took place at the apartment which I shall abbreviate in this account. Basically, Gifford testified that he came into the Harris's bedroom, following Mrs. Harris's step-brother who had run there from the back door. Gifford claims that he gave Mr. Harris a search warrant to read and that he then sat for five minutes reading it on the edge of the bed. Following this Gifford said he and the others searched the bedroom. Gifford said he was putting the items he had removed from the dresser back onto it when he noticed that he had broken Mr. Harris's basketball trophy and in turning it over to see if it could be fixed, "accidentally" found four glassine bags filled with heroin attached to the inside of the trophy with a piece of chewing gum. According to Gifford's testimony, Mr. Harris remained in the room during the entire search. Gifford also testified that after placing Mr. Harris under arrest and warning him of his rights, O'Connor showed up with a typewriter, allegedly stolen, which he had found in the apartment.

Detective O'Connor's testimony paralleled Gifford's. He added that around 1:00 on the morning of the 26th Pastore had received a telephone call following which the two of them had gone to the offices of the Detective Division to check on thefts at Yale where they found a report that a green portable had been stolen on September 23rd. O'Connor's testimony was very curious concerning the events at the apartment He testified that he stood looking around the room for five minutes while Mr. Harris read the search warrant and then spent his time rummaging through a pile of clothes. By his testimony, he finally "found" the typewriter, sitting open on a table not three feet from the clothes. It does seem incredible that O'Connor could have spent five minutes looking around the room and not have seen the typewriter, which already opens the question whether Mr. Harris in fact read the warrant at the time Gifford and O'Connor claim he did. O'Connor also testified that he saw a "pop-mark" on Mr. Harris's right arm and that there was a spot of dried blood on the pop-mark. Such a mark would result from a recent injection into the vein of a hypodermic needle.

Pastore corroborated the testimony of the other two detectives and also testified that he had seen the pop-mark. On cross-examination Pastore replied that, no, Mr. Harris had not offerred his arms for examination, but he had seen them while he was putting on his shirt. Later in the questioning, apparently realizing that the brief glimpse one might have of another's arms while dressing made his testimony none too credible, Pastore added that he had taken Mr. Harris's arm and held it and looked at it for 30 seconds.

During cross-examination of the police officers some interesting facts were brought out. They examined no one else at the apartment. They took no fingerprints from the trophy, the glassine bags or the gum, and looked for no teeth marks in the gum. They found no hypodermic needle or other narcotics paraphanelia in the apartment, indeed, they did not continue searching for them after they had "found" the heroin. The State objected to, and its objections were sustained, any questions concerning the identity of the man Gifford and Pastore had met at the train station and who had called Pastore at 1:00 A.M.

The State then called Detective DeMaio to testify as to the authenticity of the photographs he had taken of Mr. Harris's arms at the police station. The photographs, which had already been introduced into evidence, purported to show the pop-mark on the right arm and old "tracks" on the left--indicating previous use of narcotics.

The other two witnesses were Dr. Herman Ellenberger, Assistant Director of the State Toxicology Laboratory who had analyzed the contents of the glassine bags as heroin , and the Yale student who had reported a missing typewriter. He was not able to give a positive identification of the typewriter since he did not have the serial number. The most he could say was that the typewriter was the same model as his and that it looked like his.

The defense called five witnesses. Calvin Sturgis testified first. He testified that he had been living at the Harris apartment at the time of

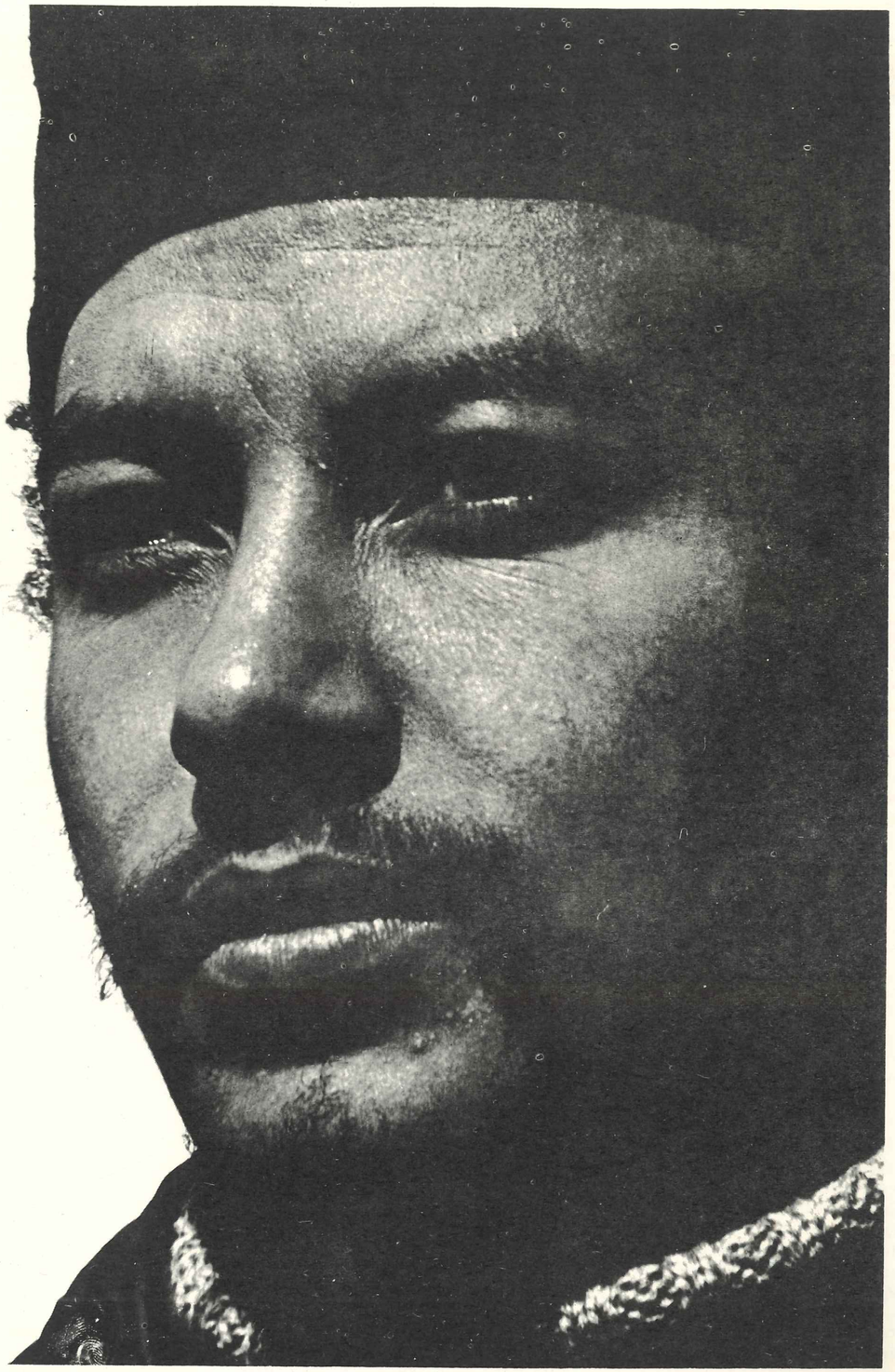


Photo by Richard Stoops

fred harris cont.

the arrest but was not at home during the evening because he worked nights. Mr. Sturgis's testimony was that he had been at home asleep until 2:00 in the afternoon, but that he had gone out until about 6:00 and that the door to the apartment had been unlocked all that time--that it was always unlocked so that the children could get into the apartment. He further testified that Mr. Harris had come home around 6:00 with a friend and that Mr. Harris, his friend and Rose Harris, Fred's wife, had gone out to a cocktail party and dinner as part of the Black Businessmen's meeting at the Park Plaza Hotel. Mr. Sturgis also testified that Mr. Harris had received the typewriter at a surprise birthday party along with other gifts.

Reverend Harry Shadden also testified as to the birthday party and corroborated Mr. Sturgis' testimony that the typewriter had been on a table with other gifts.

Fred Harris testified next. He admitted his previous narcotics addiction and said that he had gone to California in 1962 to cure himself of it because his wife had said she couldn't live with him if he was taking dope. Mr. Harris said that he had successfully shaken the habit and had never used narcotics again.

According to his testimony he was only home for a few minutes the entire day of the arrest. He had been at the Black Businessmen's meeting all day and had only come home around 6:00 to pick up his wife to go the cocktail party and dinner. This could hardly have been disputed by the police, since Mr. Harris was at the Park Plaza Hotel all day and all evening with dozens of people. He testified that they left the hotel around midnight and went to the HPA coffeehouse with some other couples where they danced until around 1:00 at wnich time they went home. Mr. Harris said he then thought he would watch TV for a while, but soon became tired and he and his wife went to bed.

Mr. Harris's account of what happened when the police arrived differs substantially from theirs. In the first place, the officers burst into the bedroom and although Mrs. Harris had been sleeping in the nude, refused to leave the room while she got dressed. This is a point which does not affect Fred Harris's innocence, but it does show how callous and cruel the police can be.

More importantly, Mr. Harris denied that he had read the warrant immediately and had stayed in the bedroom throughout the search. He said that he had gone into the kitchen when Mrs. Harris and George DeMatteis, his brother-in-law who also lived in the apartment, got into an argument with some of the officers. He said that it was in the kitchen that he was given and read the warrant, and it was while he was in the kitchen that Gifford exclaimed that he had found the heroin.

A chief difference between Mr. Harris's account of the events in the apartment and the policeman's was that Mr. Harris described a very hectic, confused scene while the officers described a very calm, orderly procedure. The reader may decide for himself which is the more likely for a 2:00 A.M. raid. He might also begin to wonder why the police were so concerned to present such a picture.

Fred Harris vehemently denied that he had taken heroin, that he had a pop-mark on his arm or that he had been keeping heroin in the apartment.

Rose Harris's testimony corroborated Mr. Harris's at every point. She also described how Mr. Harris had reacted to heroin when he had taken it prior to 1962 and testified that she had not seen any of these reactions since that time. Both the Harrises also testified that the door to the apartment was always unlocked to permit the children to come in. In addition, they both testified that the typewriter had been received as a gift at the birthday party.

The fifth defense witness was Dr. Herbert Kleber, who is currently on the Yale faculty and works primarily with narcotics users. He had previously been the director of the withdrawal service at the Lexington, Kentucky, treatment center for two years. Dr. Kleber testified that the photographs of Mr. Harris's arms proved nothing, that the mark in the photograph could be anything. He also described a pop-mark as resembling a blister, whereas the police had described it as resembling a bead.

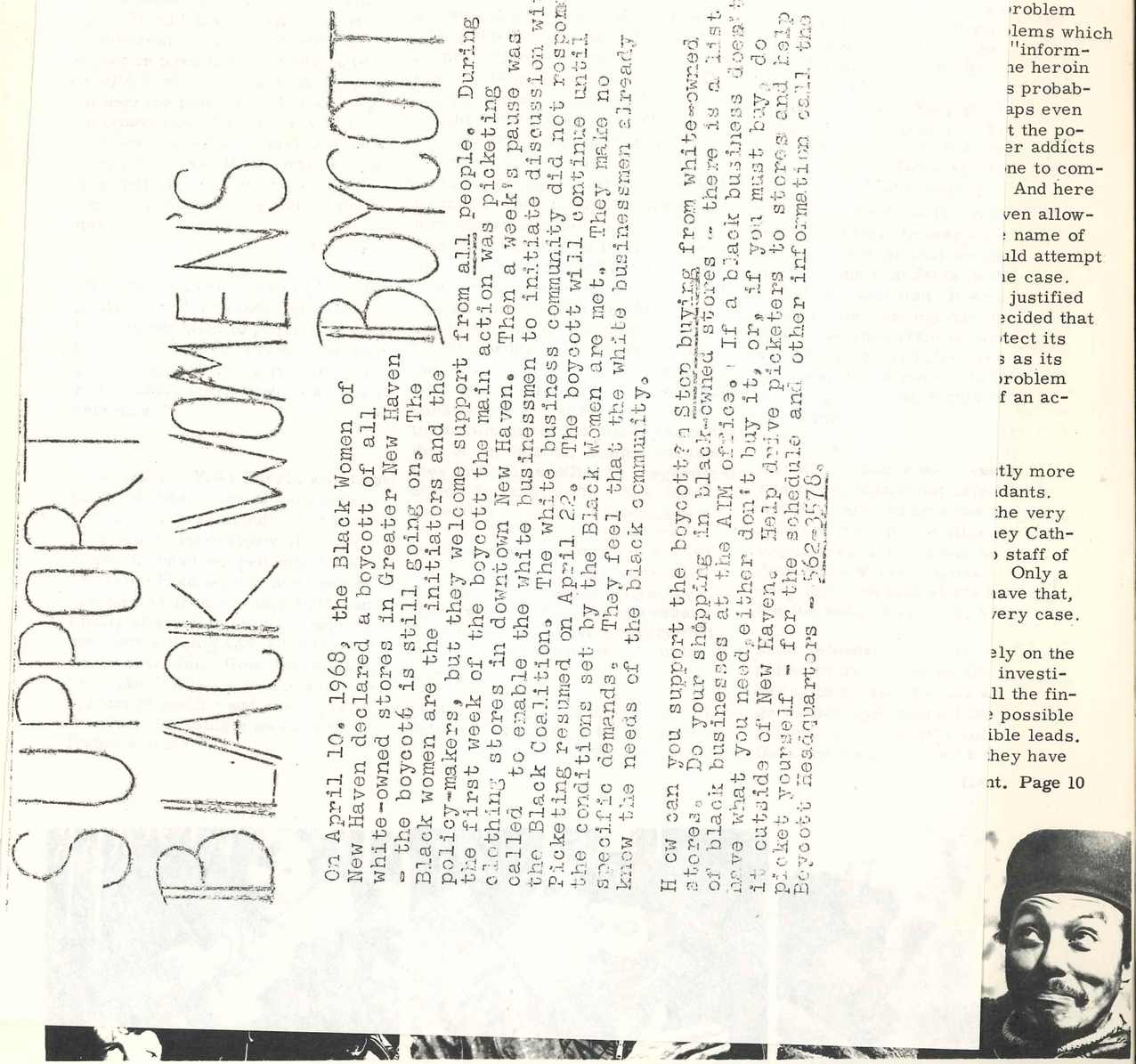
The reader should now ask himself what conclusions he is able to draw from the above evidence. In doing that, the following questions might spring to mind. First, why was Fred Harris arrested? Why not Rose Harris or Calvin Sturgis or George De Matteis, all of whom lived in the apartment and could have as easily owned the heroin as Fred Harris? Why were no fingerprints taken from the trophy, the glassine bags or the chewing gum? Were the police afraid they might find the fingerprints of someone other than Fred Harris? Who do you believe about the pop-mark--Fred Harris or the police? Remember that you are forbidden by law if you are a real juror from believing the police simply because they are the police.

Is there even a shred of other evidence that makes their testimony any more credible than his ? What about Pastore's clumsy account of how he examined Mr. Harris's arms? Remember that Fred Harris was putting on his shirt in the living room in which all the testimony indicates the lights were never turned on. Why was no one else examined to see if they had pop-marks on their arms? Why did the state introduce a meaningless photograph into the evidence?

Who was the mystery man the police met at the railroad station at 10:00? Where do you think he had been just prior to that meeting, or where do you think he went afterward? Did he just forget to tell Pastore about the typewriter at the first meeting, or did he learn of its presence in the Harris apartment between 10:00 and 1:00 when he called Pastore again--perhaps because he was in the apartment putting the heroin in the trophy? Remember the kind of pressure the police can put on narcotics users to get them to "inform"

These are difficult questions and my final remarks are really intended more to provoke thought than to provide answers. But one factor that is definitely involved is our at-

ed when that black man is a militant leader and those jurors are suburbanites who know as little about life in the ghetto as they do about life on the moon. But these factors only make the problem more serious,


SUPPORT THE BLACK WOMEN'S BOYCOTT
On April 10, 1968, the Black Women of New Haven declared a boycott of all white-owned stores in Greater New Haven. The boycott is still going on. Black women are the initiators and policy-makers, but they welcome support from all people. During the first week of the boycott the main action was picketing clothing stores in downtown New Haven. Then a week's pause was called to enable the white businessmen already the Black Coalition. The white businessmen's community did not respond. Picketing resumed on April 22. The boycott will continue until the conditions set by the Black Women are met. They make no specific demands. They feel that the white businessmen already know the needs of the black community.
How can you support the boycott? Stop buying from white-owned stores. Do your shopping in black-owned stores - there is a list of black businesses at the ATM office. If a black business doesn't have what you need, either don't buy it, or, if you must buy do it outside of New Haven. Help drive pickets to stores and help picket yourself - for the schedule Boycott Headquarters - 562-3578.

Photos by Richard Stoops

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Fred Harris testified next. He admitted his previous narcotics addiction and said that he had gone to California in 1962 to cure himself of it because his wife had said she couldn't live with him if he was taking dope. Mr. Harris said that he had successfully shaken the habit and had never used narcotics again.

According to his testimony he was only home for a few minutes the entire day of the arrest. He had been at the Black Businessmen's meeting all day and had only come home around 6:00 to pick up his wife to go the cocktail party and dinner. This could hardly have been disputed by the police, since Mr. Harris was at the Park Plaza Hotel all day and all evening with dozens of people. He testified that they left the hotel around midnight and went to the HPA coffeehouse with some other couples where they danced until around 1:00 at wnich time they went home. Mr. Harris said he then thought he would watch TV for a while, but soon became tired and he and his wife went to bed.

Mr. Harris's account of what happened when the police arrived differs substantially from theirs. In the first place, the officers burst into the bedroom and although Mrs. Harris had been sleeping in the nude, refused to leave the room while she got dressed. This is a point which does not affect Fred Harris's innocence, but it does show how callous and cruel the police can be.

More importantly, Mr. Harris denied that he had read the warrant immediately and had stayed in the bedroom throughout the search. He said that he had gone into the kitchen when Mrs. Harris and George DeMatteis, his brother-in-law who also lived in the apartment, got into an argument with some of the officers. He said that it was in the kitchen that he was given and read the warrant, and it was while he was in the kitchen that Gifford exclaimed that he had found the heroin.

A chief difference between Mr. Harris's account of the events in the apartment and the policeman's was that Mr. Harris described a very hectic, confused scene while the officers described a very calm, orderly procedure. The reader may decide for himself which is the more likely for a 2:00 A.M. raid. He might also begin to wonder why the police were so concerned to present such a picture.

Fred Harris vehemently denied that he had taken heroin, that he had a pop-mark on his arm or that he had been keeping heroin in the apartment.

Rose Harris's testimony corroborated Mr. Harris's at every point. She also described how Mr. Harris had reacted to heroin when he had taken it prior to 1962 and testified that she had not seen any of these reactions since that time. Both the Harrises also testified that the door to the apartment was always unlocked to permit the children to come in. In addition, they both testified that the typewriter had been received as a gift at the birthday party.

The fifth defense witness was Dr. Herbert Kleber, who is currently on the Yale faculty and works primarily with narcotics users. He had previously been the director of the withdrawal service at the Lexington, Kentucky, treatment center for two years. Dr. Kleber testified that the photographs of Mr. Harris's arms proved nothing, that the mark in the photograph could be anything. He also described a pop-mark as resembling a blister, whereas the police had described it as resembling a bead.

The reader should now ask himself what conclusions he is able to draw from the above evidence. In doing that, the following questions might spring to mind. First, why was Fred Harris arrested? Why not Rose Harris or Calvin Sturgis or George De Matteis, all of whom lived in the apartment and could have as easily owned the heroin as Fred Harris? Why were no fingerprints taken from the trophy, the glassine bags or the chewing gum? Were the police afraid they might find the fingerprints of someone other than Fred Harris? Who do you believe about the pop-mark--Fred Harris or the police? Remember that you are forbidden by law if you are a real juror from believing the police simply because they are the police.

Is there even a shred of other evidence that makes their testimony any more credible than his ? What about Pastore's clumsy account of how he examined Mr. Harris's arms? Remember that Fred Harris was putting on his shirt in the living room in which all the testimony indicates the lights were never turned on. Why was no one else examined to see if they had pop-marks on their arms? Why did the state introduce a meaningless photograph into the evidence?

Who was the mystery man the police met at the railroad station at 10:00? Where do you think he had been just prior to that meeting, or where do you think he went afterward? Did he just forget to tell Pastore about the typewriter at the first meeting, or did he learn of its presence in the Harris apartment between 10:00 and 1:00 when he called Pastore again--perhaps because he was in the apartment putting the heroin in the trophy? Remember the kind of pressure the police can put on narcotics users to get them to "inform" on others. With the door unlocked all day, couldn't someone have come in and planted the heroin in the trophy?

Do you think Fred Harris is a stupid man? Would anyone but an idiot keep heroin in his house when everyone in town knew the heat was on HPA? Why do you think the State pursued the patently ridiculous stolen typewriter charge? Could it have been intended to give the jury a chance to ease their consciences by acquitting Mr. Harris on one count while convicting him of the other?

The law requires a man to be proven guilty beyond a reasonable doubt. He does not have to prove that he is innocent. Asking yourself the above questions, could you have proven Fred Harris guilty beyond a reasonable doubt?

Nonetheless, Fred Harris was found guilty of possession of narcotics, although he was acquitted of having received a stolen typewriter. All of us who have worked with HPA and know Fred Harris are convinced that he was framed, that HPA had finally attained too much power for someone's liking and the word went out to bust him. How can this happen to a man? What is wrong with our system of justice and our society that it is seemingly so easy to frame a man?

These are difficult questions and my final remarks are really intended more to provoke thought than to provide answers. But one factor that is definitely involved is our attitude toward constituted authority.

Try to recall what your reactions were toward the accused person the last time you read a newspaper account of the arrest of someone charged with a crime. Was your mind completely open on the question of his guilt or innocence? Or did you think, "Aha, they finally caught that fellow," or "That's a terrible thing that person did"? If you are a normally socialized member of our society, you would be much more likely to have made a response similar to the latter two statements than to have kept an open mind. Accused persons simply are not considered innocent until proven guilty. That is partly because we confuse respect for law and order with obeisance to the police. Most of the time we accept what the police tell us without questioning it. Jurors do credit the testimony of the police more than that of defendants, simply because they are police officers, regardless of how forcefully the police tells them they may not. Perhaps our society needs to react that way; because human beings are not yet civilized enough to dispense with this kind of authority figure, or because such figures are necessary to enforce the social stability that is still too all-important to many people.

This problem is enhanced, certainly, when a black man is tried by an all-white jury. It is even more enhanced when that black man is a militant leader and those jurors are suburbanites who know as little about life in the ghetto as they do about life on the moon. But these factors only make the problem more serious, they are not the causes of it.

A second factor in this case is the failure of our society to deal intelligently with the narcotics problem and humanely with the problems which lead to narcotics use. The "informer" who may have planted the heroin in the Harris apartment was probably another black man, perhaps even someone close to HPA. Yet the police have enough control over addicts that they could force someone to commit this kind of treachery. And here the court fell down in not even allowing Mr. Harris to learn the name of the "informer" so that he could attempt to prove the real facts in the case. If that was justified, it was justified only because society has decided that it is more important to protect its system of secret informers as its response to the narcotics problem than to protect the rights of an accused man.

Third, the police have vastly more resources than most defendants. Although Mr. Harris had the very able services of his attorney Catherine Roraback, he had no staff of detectives at his disposal. Only a very few rich defendants have that, but the police have it in every case.

Most defendants have to rely on the police to do almost all the investigating in a case, to take all the fingerprints, question all the possible witnesses, check all possible leads. But once the police think they have

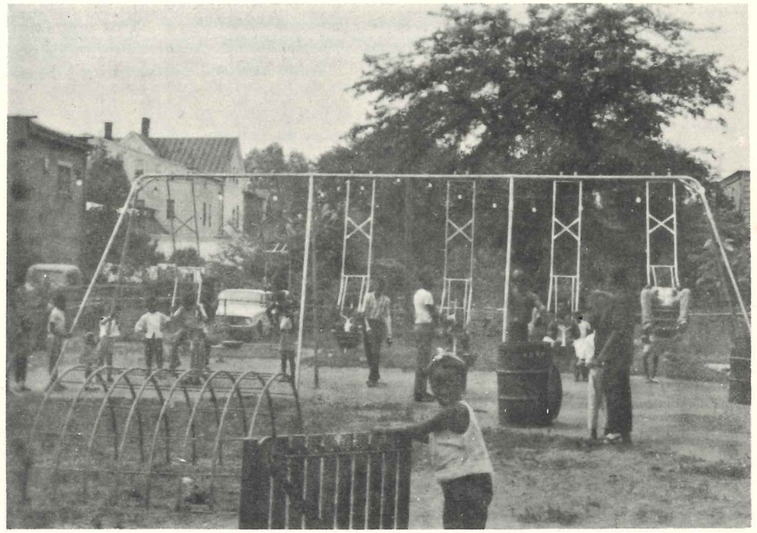
Cont. Page 10

Photos by Richard Stoops

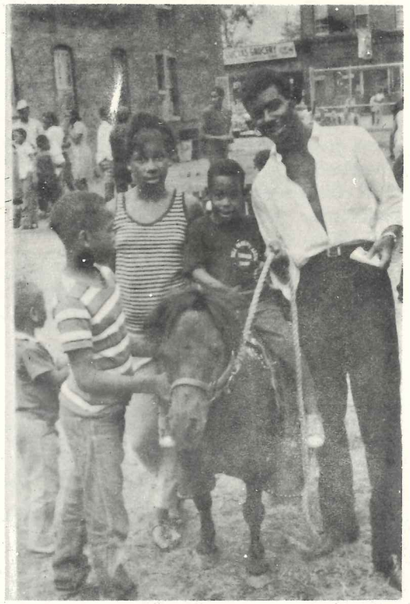
fred harris cont.

their man, they stop looking. The simple fact is that most police and most prosecutors operate as if their purpose was to get convictions, not to solve crimes. And the rest of the community lets them get away with that.

That may be the real crux of the matter. Fred Harris was convicted because "respectable" New Haven citizens let him be convicted. They not only tolerate but maintain a police force that will arrest and see to the conviction of a Fred Harris. If he weren't arrested, if HPA weren't harassed and slandered, they would become too powerful. So white society relies on the police force as its first line of defense against the Fred Harrises of this world, and closes its eyes and its mind to justice as it strives as desperately as it can to hang on to the fruits of prejudice, bigotry, hatred, and discrimination. Although he faces a possible ten year prison sentence, the major cost of this state of affairs will not be paid by Fred Harris. Someday we will all pay most dearly for our prejudice, our selfishness and for our blindness. That day is not far off.



hpa neighborhood park



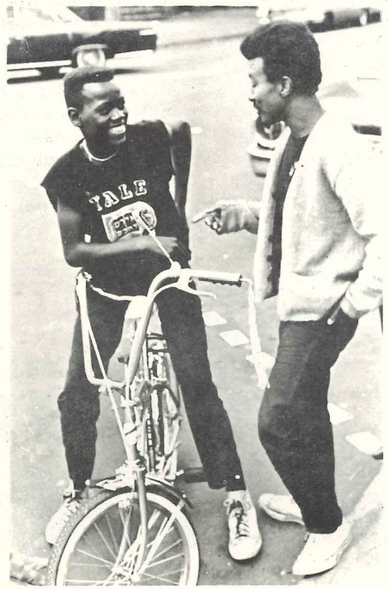


Photo by Dave Dickson

FIRST TIME FLAGS FLEW HALF-MAST FOR BLACK

– Alan McKnight

I. FRIDAY THUNDER

And the next morning
Death passed by
Outside the window,
Up in the sky, disguised
As a ragged cloud,
But he couldn't hide
His jagged sickle
With the hairs
Growing like weeds
Where the blood had dried.

Death scudded by
Below the slate grey sky
That flaming cities blistered,
With the bulging blisters blackened
By the fires like a plate
Held over a candle.

And the cities burned
Like signal fires,
Spreading the word of the attack
Across the countryside.

Like blue–grey tumors
Growing out of control,
The bubbles boiled
In the lowering sky,
And Death passed by,
Thatched to the handle
Of his bristling sickle.

II. *FLEURS DU MAL*

The gardens of black and flaming flowers grow.
Everywhere they sprout and stretch
And open like a screaming mouth.
Not weeds, not even wild,
These flowers were cultivated,
Springing from a pure–bred seed
Left to germinate in putrid soil.
I can't resist the angry beauty of these flowers,
Raging, violent flowers, reaching for the sun.

Now the fiendish flowers are blooming.
Red–black, orange– and yellow–black
The garish flowers bloom
In the sharp flashes of sniper fire,
In the bright bursts of welling blood,
In the thousand running legs spreading out
from a center of white helmets,
In the pink star of scar tissue whirling into the
maelstrom of my black soul.

The sower doesn't know his seeds,
Dropped unconsciously out his narrow window,
Cast without reflection on the vast, white void
of his ignorance,
Fertilized with broken mirror glass, ash cans,
and rusted iron.

The sower has forgotten what he never knew,
And so he doesn't know his flowers,
Doesn't love their glaring hues
With the blue, lethargic love
In which they were conceived.
He blames the fire of our limbs
That breeds only our dark flesh.
And I'm torn from my bower
To be thrust into his;
Flung from a myrtled balcony
To harvest his burning beds,
To cut the blazing, sterile flowers,
The only beauty born of his neglect.
I'm called on to take sides,
And whose side should I take?

All agree, who sows shall reap,
But not on who first sowed;
By now there is no way to know
Except by who gets mowed.

III. BREAKFAST IN EMMAUS

Sit down a while and wait with me.
Don't let the roaring bother you,
'Though their pride and ignorance
Makes them utter insults when they mean to
soothe,
'Though they plead to let my spirit live
With tongues that are a thousand swords
thrust home
To finish what the sniper's lead began.
They sure look silly in my clothes,
Preaching peace with fear all over their faces.
It comes out all wrong: love the torment
When I said love tormenters; love the cancer
When I told them love the sick.
And now they villify my killer 'cause he loosed
A hail of bricks and bottles on their heads
And took away the shield of my voice
That was never meant to shield them;
But I told them, whatsoever you do
To my murderer, you do to me.
Because he lives in me. Yes, he does.
I see his white trembling face every morning
in my soul;
I feel the twitch of the finger that pulled the
trigger
Dancing here in my index finger; I hear
His cry of impotence that has parched my throat.
If he got out, it was because I didn't do enough.

But I found him here in the abyss
Where I have wrestled with crawling things,
And everyday I conquered him. Ha!

After that, what are tigers to me?
I chased him from the hollows of my bowels
To the peak of the mountain,
And there I washed him in the snow of my blood.

And while I was on the mountain
I saw a city coming down,
A city burning not with gold
And not with flames of vengence,
But a city self–immolated in compassion,
A city that renews itself
Not with steel and concrete,
But with arms and shoulders for bricks
And eyes for windows,
Ears for doors,
And legs and feet for highways.

But this city is not built by burning,
Nor by marching on a quiet village green,
Nor by lowering the flag of pride half–mast.
These things build nothing.

APRIL 3rd -- ADDRESS TO THE RESISTANCE

by Staughton Lynd

I'd like to begin with a double dedication, first to Ron Johnson, Fred Harris, and other members of the Hill Parents' Association who are in jail or have been convicted. I don't know the circumstances of these cases ... I do know the men, and as far as I am concerned some of the champagne should stay on ice until our brothers are free.

My second dedication is to three anonymous members of the class of 1968 quoted in the morning's New York Times: "I was going to turn in my draft card any day now. Johnson has changed my future," one said, and the second, "I have already bought a ticket on a ship to London, and I hope I can sell it or return it." A third Yale student said with apparent sadness, "It's sort of like losing a father you can rebel against. There's just no one we can hit at that much any more. Nixon isn't even worth the trouble." I conclude that brilliantly as you have been taught in my absense, a portion of your education has been neglected, and I dedicate my remarks to these three.

My concern here is not to evaluate the President's action. Proponents of every tactic of anti-war struggle will no doubt claim victory, each with some reason. To speak personally for a moment, at the Berkeley Teach-In in 1965, I called for a campaign of nonviolent disobedience so persistent and so massive that it would constitute the functional equivalent of a no-confidence vote in a nation with a parliamentary system, and oblige the President and his closest advisors forthwith to resign. This scenario has been called apocalyptic and romantic but I think a case could be made that the draft resistance movement is having something like that result. Of course the McCarthy and Kennedy candidacies, like Senator Fulbright's previous initiatives, were the immediate instrumentalities. But underlying electoral activity and alone setting objective limits on the President's capacity for maneuver has been the growth, and increasing legitimization, of the draft resistance movement.

The debate as to what element in the anti-war movement may most appropriately claim victory can be left to the historians, who will conduct it interminably with inconclusive results. What of the future? What is the meaning of draft resistance in this new context?

First a few necessary commonplaces are in order.

The war in Vietnam is not over. As so often in the past, a Presidential peace offensive appears in strange proximity to a new step of escalation. A bombing pause which does not apply to the whole of North Vietnam is coupled with the impending call-up, according to newspaper reports, of as many as 65,000 reservists. Nor did the President say anything to suggest that the graduating seniors and first year graduate students newly exposed to the draft by General Hersey's February directive will not have to walk that lonesome valley after June. Granted, the President's apparent decision not to run makes a dramatic escalation of the war, for instance by invasion of North Vietnam, less likely. Granted, too, that in contrast to earlier peace offensives this announcement seemed to be something more than propaganda in the sense that it confirmed a turn in the mood of the country, very much including the business community, toward disengagement from Vietnam. My point is simply that over the next several months the reality may be continued slow escalation and no change in the anticipated draft calls at double last year's rate. For many young men, the prospect of induction may be the more intolerable with peace rhetorically at hand.

A second commonplace:
The draft is not the instrument of a particular war but of a foreign policy so much at odds with the sentiment of mankind that the United States can no longer find citizens of other nations to do it's dying for it. I find no indication in the remarks of any of the presidential candidates that this foreign policy will be reconsidered. It will certainly not be reconsidered by the Senator whose solution for unrest in the inner city is more private investment, who supported the Bay of Pigs invasion and the creation of the Green Berets. Nor, it seems to me, have the words of any of the candidates reached the reality described in the New Republic last fall by Professor Morgenthau of the University of Chicago when he said: "The great national decisions of life and death are rendered by technologial elites, and both the Congress and the people at large have retained little more than the illusion of making decisions which the theory of democracy supposes them to make." Hence, whereas during the past few years draft resistance has often been considered the peculiar province of "moral" personalities in the Movement, it may now become the characteristic action of those sufficiently politically perceptive to understand the relationship between the draft and American imperialism, and so to conceptualize draft resistance as the most appropriate long-term strategy for resisting that long-term policy.

I want now to address several remarks to those who share the analysis I just presented, that is to say, those who think of Vietnam not as a strange aberration or monstrous exception which a liberal Senator will somehow completely set right if he becomes President, but those who think of Vietnam as a characteristic expression of an American foreign policy which has expressed itself and will express itself in other under-developed nations as well. I want, in other words, to say a few words to those who think of themselves as part of what we call the Movement.

From the beginning, draft resistance was something more than a tactic. Many of us who had been in the South regarded it as an action which would challenge white students in the North to make the existential step beyond analysis, a program which, like SNCC activity in the South, would take the Northern movement beyond demonstrations to a level of more significant commitment. This has come about. One of the remarkable aspects of the days of Resistance in October and December was that among those who returned their draft cards were several persons in the Movement who for years had identified themselves with electoral politics and looked skeptically upon direct action.

As draft resistance has grown from the seemingly quixotic gestures of David Mitchell, David Miller and others in the fall of 1965 into the most significant form of mass action against the war, other implications have revealed themselves. We begin to see that draft resistance is more than a single dramatic action on a particular day. And the consequence of resistance for the resister is more than a jail term, serious as that consequence is. More and more, if I am not mistaken, draft resistance has begun to be understood as a first step in life-long radical vocation, an act of initiation and commencement. For some at least of those who take part in Vietnam Commencements this coming May and June, the ceremony will be a beginning in this larger sense. In this election year they will be engaged in a different kind of voting, choosing with the whole of their lives, taking part in the primary of putting first things first, nominating in the sense of calling things by their right names, and if they relate to a political party, creating rather than choosing one.

I have myself been a precinct worker in this odd sort of electing for some time now, and especially during the last year, when, like so many younger than myself, I have been trying to discover what it means to leave the campus, to understand oneself as first of all a member of the Movement rather than first of all a member of this or that profession. I want to report some returns from this campaign. These returns are personal not statistical. But I will try to place them in a more-than-personal context. I will not at each stage of my report pause to point a moral for the draft resistance movement. Hopefully it will be clear that, like the draft resister, I have been attempting to regain control of the decision-making processes which affect my life, and that I too, even if my confrontations have been less with draft boards than with boards of trustees, have been trying to resist what General Hershey in his channeling memorandum calls "the psychology of granting wide choice under pressure."

First of all, then, I want to ask those of you who are teachers, or professional of another variety, to join me in recognizing certain inherent limitations associated with those vocations. It is perfectly possible to make significant contributions to electoral politics after work hours and on week-ends, as many of you did in New Hampshire. Other processes of social change seem to require a fuller commitment. Students who have attempted to do community organization while carrying full course loads have usually found the combination unfruitful. As for reachers, it is a peculiar sort of radicalism which permits one to be arrested only in summertime or to hurry home from Hanoi to be on time for a seminar. If our radicalism has been of the one-shot, symbolic, moral-gesture variety perhaps that is less because of petty-bourgeois ideology than because of the academic schedule. What is limiting, in my opinion, is more than the external requirements of our various jobs. Among the things about myself which I have had to recognize this past year are: How humilating I found it to go from Yale to Chicago State College; how fearful I am about money; how difficult it is to have confidence in my own intuitive perceptions as to what matters, when counterposed to the judgment of academic reviewers or professional colleagues; how much hesitation I feel to cut loose from things intellectual for fear that there is nothing else I can do well; and so on. I don't want to dwell on these personalia. Suffice it to say, on the one hand, that no one should underestimate the emotional work required to be a radical over thirty, but on the other hand, that the more earnest one's effort the more possibility of breakthrough into a new sense of comradeship with spouse, children, and co-workers, the more hope for what we Quakers call "openings" into solutions of the problems of livelihood and work in the Movement.

I want to add something about white radicals and nonviolence. It may be that as we commit our lives more fully to the Movement we, too, will ourselves driven driven toward violent means. But it may also be that as we become more satisfied with the character of our own contributions it will seem less important to imitate the rhetoric of black liberation, less needful to prove ourselves in the eyes of our black brothers. For many white radicals a temptation to live vicariously off the radicalism of black people persisted long after recognition that white persons could no longer be leaders in the civil rights movement or work in the black ghetto. This temptation might express itself in training teachers to teach in the black ghetto, or in doing research or Afro-American history, or in talk of creating diversions and running guns into the ghetto. Such work and talk made it possible to avoid head on confrontation with white working-class America, with Dorchester, Fair Haven, and Gage Park, despite the fact that this encounter was what our black friends asked of us and what in all probability can most help them.

Also avoided, if I am not mistaken, was fully facing the psychological consequences of our expulsion from the black movement, which means discovering the psychological equivalent for white people of the new sense of identity and manhood which black power gave to blacks. That discovery is now in process. Hippies and yippies are part of the search for gentle and joyous ways to be a man, or rather, an adult human being, in these United States. The unions of white organizers now forming in Boston, Chicago and other groups

Cont. Page 14

april 3rd cont.

like AIM here in New Haven, help us to support each other as we walk these new paths. And at the heart, in more than one sense, of the process which I am so inadequately sketching are the people, experiences, terminology, organizations of the draft resistance movement.

Together with A. J. Muste and David Dellinger, I was concerned for many years to challenge doctrinaire pacificists to consider the claims to truth of Marxism and of revolutionary violence. We asked such questions of our fellow-pacificsts as: Can you really be sure that a nonviolent solution was available in South Vietnam, or is available in South Africa? How do you propose to end American imperialism, to create socialism in the United States? Are you not smugly projecting ideas appropriate in comfortable middle-class America but utterly untested as solutions for oppressed and downtrodden peoples whose children die of malnutrition before their eyes. These were good questions. They still await answers. They challenge draft resisters to move off the campus, begin to work in poor communities, discover what draft resistance means for those who cannot afford moral gestures. But in the last year another set of questions has formed in my mind, directed now not to American pacifists but particularily to SDS.

Similarly it meant a non-directive style of leadership, an orientation to concrete action, a quality in personal relationships which I shall call "emotional openness." We were resistant to bureaucracy, skeptical of rigid ideology; we did not believe that unity in the Movement was based on hatred of a common enemy, nor did we think that there is one set of ethical standards for your friends and another for your foes. I oppose discarding this cluster of values. Think of it this way. Black power involves a justification of armed defense, a program of community organization, an affirmation of a cultural heritage, an ideal of manhood. It is a complete sub-culture, which trains and--more than trains--sustains those within it. I do not believe the white radical movement will find a similarly sustaining sub-culture unless it affirms rather than rejects those values with which it set out. Of course the commitment must be enriched and deepened. Of course we should read Marx; but if we suppose that Marx's macrocosmic analysis is a substitute for ethical vision, we will make a fetish of his anti-fetishism, and use the opponent of alienation to alienate us from ourselves. Of course we, or perhaps I should say I, should be socialists; but if we mean to learn from history rather than repeat it, it must be a human and decentralist and participatory socialism. The experience of the past year suggests that if the new New Left, in its desire for political effectiveness, contemptuously turns its back on the innocence and naivete of the New Left when it was young, then the New Left may become indistinguishable from the Old:

I know that many in the draft resistance movement share these feelings. They lay on us a complicated double task.

It is absolutely essential that draft resisters move into communities, become sensitive to the difference between the draft resistance of white middle-class students and that of less advantaged groups, see the relation between the draft and imperialism, begin to connect the draft with other issues: in short, become more political and less moralistic in their work. But I want to encourage you to feel that it is equally essential for draft resisters to nurture those sensitivities which led you to become draft resisters in the first place. The draft resistance movement is that portion of the larger Movement in which the early ethos of that larger Movement is most evident. Now it may also become the instrument for bringing together the moral sensitivity of the old New Left and the political insight of the new.

Looking forward to the coming months and years of the Movement, one sees these tasks growing out of our resistance: 1. Students, as they leave the campus, must have the courage to continue trying to make the values they upheld as campus radicals the center of their lives; they must say "not with my life you don't" to more than the draft; they must create vocations as radicals.
2. As they (as we) leave the campus, or jail, we need to "take a step into America," to make contact - perhaps as teachers, or doctors, or lawyers - with the white working-class Americans who will be drafted not only for future Vietnams but for the war at home against their black brothers.

Beneath the election campaign, beneath even the war, thousands of radicalized students will be leaving the campuses this June to struggle with these lonely personal decisions. In my opinion this is where it's at in our Movement. This is the beginning of the Movement's next phase. It's a small beginning, but I would like to close with a word about beinnings from a man somewhat more radical than either Senator Kennedy or Senator McCarthy --the closing paragraphs at our present season.

"It is now toward the middle of February. Were I to take a turn into the country, the trees would present a leafless, wintry appearance. As people are apt to pluck twigs as they go along, I perhaps might do the same, and by chance might observe that a single bud on that twig has begun to swell. I should reason very unnaturally, or rather not reason at all, to suppose that this was the only bud in England which had this appearance. Instead of deciding thus, I should instantly conclude that the same appearance was beginning, or about to begin, everywhere; and though the vegetable sleep will continue long on some trees and plants than on others, and though some of them may not blossom for two or three years all will be in leaf in the summer except those which are rotten. What pace the political summer may keep with the natural, no human foresight can determine. It is, however, not difficult to perceive that the spring has begun.

education forum: AIM ON NEW HAVEN EDUCATION

(Editor's Note The following paper was prepared by the AIM committee on education to be presented at the hearing on education at the Conte School on March 26th. The hearing was called by the Aldermanic Committee on Education at the request of CIAO (Council of Italian American Organizations), the Human Relations Council, and the Black Coalition. These groups wished an open discussion of all the problems of the New Haven educational system, but the Aldermanic Committee and the Board of Education seemed primarily interested in drumming up as much support as possible for the planned increase in taxes. The meeting was very well attended, mainly by parents who came under the illusion that they would be able to air their grievances. Instead, a simple variant of the usual tactic of administration hearings was employed: boring bureaucratic apologists took up most of the first hour and a half of precious time. As parents, many of whom had paid babysitters in order to be able to attend, began to leave in disgust, Henry Parker of the Black Coalition entered a protest against the de facto exclusion of parents from the speakers' list. There then followed some more genuinely representative speakers, such as Rose Harris of the HPA, but Alderman Lessler kept returning to his speakers' list. Parents who were dependent on the information available in the newspapers had signed up at the beginning of the meeting, but experienced bureaucrats and some selected pressure groups knew enough to write in in advance of the meeting. The hearing dragged on until its midnight deadline with an ever-decreasing audience. The AIM speaker was summoned to the podium at 11:50 when some ten to fifteen epeople remained to hear her. Unfortunately, she had already gone home.)

Let me say at the outset that A. I. M. endorses Joe Harris' teacher training proposal. We are in favor of the efforts to recruit and inform bright well-educated school teachers. However, well educated teachers will seldom remain in a poor school system that allows them little room for initiative. I am a former New Haven teacher. When I came to teach in New Haven I had ten young teacher friends. We all had masters degrees. We have all left the system. Most of us were harassed into leaving by administrators who opposed needed changes in the schools and blocked our efforts to involve their schools with the community. Three teachers were forced to leave on the strange grounds that community involvement was unprofessional. Another teacher was fired for using new reading methods that were unfortunately unfamiliar to his principal.

Our schools lack funds and trained personnel. They are scenes of violent rebellion. Why? We feel that the reasons are not merely financial. Our schools are supposed to be a public service, and yet the schools are isolated from the public they are supposed to serve. This is the key problem. How can we solve it? How can we re-open the channels of communication between schools and parents and pupils so that people don't have to picket and riot to be heard.

We must decentralize our schools. Schools should be semi-autonomous. They should be responsible mainly to the citizens they serve, not the authorities down-town. They should be free to make necessary changes when they are needed and not have to go through months and sometimes years of red tape, waiting before anything is done. To give only one instance, a group of parents and teachers at the Prince Street School complained about intolerable school conditions in October, 1965. Nothing was done for months. In late April, 1966 parents finally picketed.

People who are directly concerned with the schools feel the urgency to make reforms and changes. There must be direct and easy feedback from school to community and back to school on the success or failure of school policies and practices. Only then, students and parents will no longer be driven to demonstrate in order to be heard.

People will not think of the schools as their schools unless they can participate in making the decisions that govern the schools. Right now, people have little or no access to the decision-makers. Very few people even know who makes the decisions. The teachers and the superintendent are the most visible of the authority figures; they bear the brunt of most of the criticism, but they are not alone responsible. People with complaints are often shifted from one office to another until they give up in utter frustration. A recent study finds that in organizations such as school systems, as the system increases in size, the morale weakens. This suggest s the need to decentralize our schools to maintain the conditions and morale necessary to successful education.

In a decentralized school system there could be a simple, well organized grievance procedure where students, parents, citizens, teachers and administrators could raise problems and express grievances. There could be a means to appeal school decisions and policies that are not succeeding and offer alternatives for improved education.

Our schools are supposed to be a preparation for life in a democratic society. They don't set an example of democratic procedures. Neither the teachers nor the students have much of a voice in the decisions that mold their school lives. Our high-school students should not have to riot to express their grievances.

Our schools are usually run from the top down by a few administrators. We use the limited ideas of a few rather than the varied ideas of the many. We cannot keep parents active in schools that do not allow them to act. We cannot keep students interested in schools that do not study students' interests or listen to student ideas. We cannot keep well educated, creative teachers, if they are not allowed to try out their ideas. We must reorganize our schools to give teachers, parents, and students as well as ad-

Cont. Page 16

ministrators the right to assume responsibility and exercise initiative to improve their schools.

This is a budget hearing. How does this plan relate to the budget? First of all, we must stop assuming that more money will mean a better education. We are doing far less than what is possible with the current funds. Again, to give one of many examples, our curriculum department does excellent educational research that most teachers don't even know about. Principals are free to ignore all the research on what is best for children and insist upon out-moded methods and materials. In one case, teachers working with the extensive research provided by the Department of Curriculum wrote a report recommending a wide selection of different texts and trade books for reading. Researchers found overwhelmingly that the one series in which the children see the same faces and hear similar stories year after year bores the children. They are not encouraged to pursue outside interests through reading when their only school reading is one text for many years. This study was ignored. One text was ordered for the whole school. This is only one of a long list of possible examples I could give. I only taught here for two years.

Schools could submit problems to the Research Division for their help. We could be helped by them.

Business corporations are spending ever larger proportions of their budgets on research and development. Can we afford to ignore our excellent research department? If we decentralized our schools, we could reduce the expenses involved in elaborated, centralized coordination and paperwork. Administrators are our highest paid employees. Decentralization requires fewer administrators. We could use the talents and resources of our communities rather than hiring expensive specialists for everything. There are parents, grand-parents and other citizens who would enjoy reading to children, teaching them skills and games and performing tasks like building a playhouse in the kindergarten. Why not use these resources?

School is supposed to be a preparation for life in our society, yet our curriculum has little to do with the problems our children face. Older children could study and apply their studies to community problems. Younger children could benefit from the study of problems like race. To give one example, Coles, Goodman, and other scholars have found that the study of race frees children to understand and deal with that problem. If we do not present these problems to our children, how can we help them to solve their problems and those of the community? Decentralization could also help with the increasingly severe problem of classroom discipline. Students would be more responsive to rules that they and their parents helped to devise. Students tend to be better behaved when parents are around the school. Many pupils are disruptive to gain more attention. They could get more attention from the increased neighborhood personnel in the schools. Students would be more attentive if they were studying their own problems. Discipline would not be such an issue if the school and home worked together to mutually enforce the rules they mutually created.

In summary, we feel that the key to our educational problems is that our schools are undemocratic. We must begin to decentralize them. We must create true community schools. We have schools that we call "community schools," but as the Ford Foundation study pointed out, these are not run by their communities. These schools must be semi-autonomous, responsible primarily to the parents and students, rather than to the higher authorities downtown. There must be a high level of citizen and teacher participation in decision-making at every level. Citizens should participate on the school staff in both paid and volunteer activities. The school, the staff, and the community must participate in joint efforts with other community agencies and organizations, and have joint efforts to petition for special city, state, and federal assistance.

Only when our teachers, administrators, citizens and students can all have a voice in our schools, will they respect and work with those schools.

DRAFT ACTION GROUP

A Report from Next Door
by Betsy Gilbertson

The office next door to the AIM office at 241 Orange Street is no longer empty--the New Haven Draft Action Group has set up shop. The "shop" is a room filled with tables of literature, hand-me-down couches, and overflowing desks. Black looseleaf binders labeled "Selective Service Law", "Regulations", and "Local Board Memoranda" rest on an accessible shelf. We have moved in.

What we have moved in to do is organize around the draft. We want to talk to people--at the induction center, in the community, in the high schools, at Yale and other area colleges. The office is our base of operations. In it we do the counselling which is our means of approaching people: trained counsellors discuss individual problems, show men what their rights are under the Selective Service Law and Regulations, and present possible alternatives to military service--deferments, conscientious objection, prison, emigration.

However, counselling is only part of what we are about. We want to help people deal with their draft problems so that we can show them that there are ways to resist the kind of manipulation the Selective Service System attempts. We want to help people understand that the draft is only one institution that manipulates them, and that discriminates against Blacks and the poor--the schools, the welfare system, the political machines are others, and resisting the draft is one way to begin to understand how a lot of other things work.

We join with AIM and the Resistance in asserting that this war is the outgrowth of a policy which has failed--both at home and abroad--to confront the issues before us in the spirit of American democracy. We still believe in "liberty and justice for all." We hope others who share that belief will join with us in building a political movement that will work toward making "liberty and justice for all" a reality.

HOUSING IN STRATFORD

By Vincent Frazzetta

Stratford's housing situation is quite different from that of New Haven or Bridgeport. Unlike the larger cities, clogged with people and slum scarred, Stratford has an abundant acreage to support a comfortable population of forty-five thousand. Some unsightly areas are visible, but no tenements and no squalor. Less than five families are on relief. Like big Connecticut cities of a decade ago the problem is still developing. And, as in those cities a decade ago, only a few are taking action.

Some of them are members of the Stratford Interfaith Human Relations Council (SIHRC). For over a year and a half the council held monthly dialogues with itself, producing virtually nothing. Finally at the insistance of chairman Dave Jenny a public "Town Meeting" on housing was set up. The draw was seventy-five people. One third of the faces were familiar from previous SIHRC meetings. There was a sprinkling of Town Officials; State Senator Gunther appeared, also some folks from the University. But "Stratford" didn't show.

Some blamed it on the late start in publicizing the meeting. Others pointed to the advertising copy itself which was so watered down, so as not to incite anyone, that the words "open housing" and "race" and "Negro" did not even appear.

First on the agenda were facts regarding the non-white population distribution. The classic ghettoizing was there--89% of the non-whites living in two of eleven districts--the ghetto-perpetuating public housing lumped in the same two districts. Even the old public housing residency requirement was there. Quite clearly, Stratford does have a problem, though not yet acute by some standards.

Then followed an unfortunately bland movie, depicting the plight of Negro families struggling to find adequate apartments. This movie was the lead-off topic for a panel headed by Isadore Goldstein, the perpetually fatigued head of the state Human Rights Commission. He duly criticized the picture explaining that the situation was a lot worse than the screen version. "Connecticut has fair housing laws" he said, "but only a small number of infractions develop into formal complaints for fear of publicity or retribution." A second panelist, Rev. W.O. Johnson, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Stratford, reflected the more militant attitudes of his mostly Negro congregation. He called for more and stricter laws regarding housing. The Reverend dragged in the banking element, with their subtle attempts at disuasion and the quiet tightening up of mortgage requirements.

Real Estate agent Frank DelVecchio filled out the panel explaining that Stratford was mainly a community of one family homes: the housing market was mostly in sales, not rents. This brought a flurry of reaction from the so far well-behaved audience. The real estate people were accused, among other things, of showing incomplete multiple house listings to Negroes.

Panel moderator Charles Taylor, Chairman of the Stratford Board of Education raised the question: "What can be done now?" The answers ranged from the usual "come let us reason together" type to the possible formation of a non-profit organization to sponsor public housing as Bridgeport is doing. One observer noted that there was little public land left in Stratford that could be utilized for public housing. Even so, the one-family home problem would not be solved.

The meeting broke up at a decent hour with the promise of more meetings to come. What more "meetings" can accomplish is doubtful. This one was "soft". With Bridgeport bulging into Stratford and more and more Negroes seeking better homes and apartments, Stratford will have to "harden" its efforts at Fair Housing.

STOLBERG MUST LEAVE S.C.S.C.

Irving Stolberg, a leader in the New Haven McCarthy campaign, a former worker in the Cook campaign, and an Assistant Professor of Geography at Southern Connecticut State College has confirmed the fact that his present three year contract at the New Haven school will not be renewed as of 1 September, 1969.

Professor Stolberg was first notified of this decision by S. C. S. C. President Hilton C. Buley, who told him that he just didn't fit in at Southern." Stolberg later received an official letter from the college confirming Buley's earlier statements. The letter did not, however, contain any reason for the action.

As an untenured faculty member, Stolberg has absolutely no rights of appeal, etc. of the decision, a fact which has aroused the concern of hundreds of S. C. S. C. students. Many of these students feel strongly opposed to Stolberg's ideas, positions and actions both on and off campus. They recognize, however, his right and responsibility to speak out on issues which deeply concern him.

As Professor Stolberg is the most eloquent and pursuasive of Southern's few outspoken faculty members, his case is important in itself. It does, however, have important far-reaching effects. It has demonstrated conclusively to the entire student body at S. C. S. C. the state of academic freedom in their school. At a round table discussion led by President Buley on March 19, he refused to comment on Stolberg's case, saying it was his policy not to "discuss confidential information with students." Later in that same meeting Buley stated that he had "no secrets from anyone."

A system which allows a fine professor to be eliminated at the simple discretion of one man is wrong. Academic freedom does NOT involve a constant conflict between two opposing

Cont. Page 18

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power structures. It DOES hopefully involve an accepted equality on the part of all concerned to speak and be heard on all issues, and to listen and evaluate all things in search of truth. Apparently Professor Stolberg spoke once too often.

Southern Connecticut State College is YOUR school as much as it is the school of its students and faculty. Your taxes support the school and its administration, and your letters and participation in the fight for academic freedom could be of immense help to its students and faculty.

For further infromation contact Mike Millard, 939 Elm Street, City, tel. 562-5845 or Bob Werner, 25 Dayton St., City, tel. 387-3731.

letter to the editor

Yesterday after reading your editions of January 15 and February 12 I took a walk around the Ring Road ring. Beside being amazed that anyone could be in favor of the Ring Road Road, I'm upset at how uninformed I am. Please accept the enclosed $5 as payment for a sponsoring subscription to the A.I.M. Newsletter.

Yours truly,
William Taylor

EDITORS' NOTE: The walk for this week is Route 34.

American Independent Movement
241 Orange Street
New Haven, Conn. 06510

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U.S. Postage
PAID 3.6¢
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